Dup Fred W. Ring

FELLOWSHIP

May 1944 Vol. X—No. 5

The forest in summer
Is full and warm,
Accomplished,
Proud and satisfied,
Uneager.

More to me
Are winter trees
Tense and strained,
Waiting,
Bearing silently
Long suffering,
Poised and eager

Lord, let me worship thee
In the cold and bitter
Poverty of silence.
Let the icy, white sweep
Of simplicity
Strip my limbs and soul
So I may better
Wait for thee.

DAVID NEWTON, CPS

American COs in World War II

•

Two Years in CPS — by Howard Schomer

"I Cannot Longer Compromise" — by Lee Lynne

The Big Job Lies Ahead — by Bernard Lemann

They'll Never Be the Same Again — as told by COs in Prison

•

With an Introduction
by
A. J. Muste

15 cents a copy $1.50 a Year

FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

IT is probable that the testing time of pacifism is at hand. A tide of bitterness and hate is steadily rising in this country. Atrocity stories are being sensationally exploited. All talk of peace and of peace principles is being identified with "treason." Self-appointed censors of ideas, with easy access to press and radio, are presuming to sit in judgment on their fellow citizens. Fierce attacks are being directed here and there against pacifist individuals and groups, with open or covert threats of violence. There is free talk of banning pacifist meetings and suppressing pacifist opinion. The government has thus far kept its head. It is following its usual policy of sensible restraint. But any democratic government is sensitive to the impact of public sentiment. Let intolerance get beyond control, and it is inevitable that the effects will be disastrously felt in Washington.

The fact is that we are coming to the climax of the war. The nation is nerving itself for fighting on such a scale, and with such losses, as the American people have never known in all their history. There is a mounting tension as the Russian troops sweep on to the German border, and the American and English troops stand poised at the Channel for the impending invasion of western Europe. At such a moment as this, there is a demand for unity. No dissenting opinion, it is argued, can be endured. Shudders of horror, appeals for mercy, prayers for peace, are all so many signs of defeatism, if not disloyalty. It is deemed a waste of time to try to make distinction between these attitudes of mind and the sheer subversive activities which may wreck a nation in the hour of its extremity. So tolerance and good will are disappearing; patience is wearing thin; civil liberties seem no longer important. This war is going to be won, and as quickly as possible! So come along, or at least get out of the way, if you don't want to be trampled on and hurt.

What is here a sharp blowing of the wind is likely to become a hurricane before this dreadful summer is over. What shall we do to meet the ordeal? Are there any rules of conduct to be followed? Yes:

(1) We pacifists must not wantonly irritate public sentiment. The growing intolerance which is abroad is no conscious repudiation of our American principles, no deliberate persecution, least of all mere sadism. Rather it is a reaction which springs from a deep feeling of concern, in the minds of persons not any too well educated or disciplined, as to what may be awaiting us in the next few months. This concern, in the case of millions, is deeply personal in the sense that it is attached to some dear husband, or son, or friend, at the front. The vast majority of people are in a state of inward strain as a sheer result of besetting and torturing anxiety, and it is not surprising if, on occasion, they become hard and hostile in spirit. These people are to be understood and pitied, and not provoked. They must be comforted, and not defied. We pacifists talk a good deal about loving our enemies. Well, let's love our friends also, and thus protect them, so far as possible, from irritation.

(2) We must not disturb or threaten public order. We must go a long way to avoid violence—not only violence of our own doing, but violence which may be stirred in others by our activities or mere presence. I would even go so far as to suggest that we must be ready, if necessary, to sacrifice our cause in the interest of keeping the peace. For if we want to keep the peace among the nations at any price, why not similarly among ourselves and our neighbors in our social relationships with one another? Gandhi gives us the perfect example of what I mean, as I made plain in this place a month ago. In his great campaign against the Raj in 1921-22, he abandoned his undertaking rather than be responsible for violence and disorder.

(3) In all doubtful matters, where decision on pacifist grounds seems doubtful, we must give the benefit of the doubt not to ourselves but to our opponents. There are certain war questions on which the pacifist is clear—as, for example, military service. There are other questions on which the pacifist is not so sure. In such cases, until he is sure, he must go along with the government and society in general. It is a terrible thing to break fellowship. We must not do so unless conscience clearly commands.

(4) We must be unfailingly considerate, kind, and compassionate. We must be ready ever to understand and forgive. No harsh word must pass our lips; no ungenerous or ungracious deed stain our hearts. For the lapses and even sins of others there must be instant excuse, but never for our own. Our first duty is discipline—that discipline of the spirit which may enable us to live our gospel, of course with our fellow-pacifists where failure is unpardonable, but also with those who denounce, deride, and would destroy us. "With malice toward none, with charity for all"—this must be at once our watchword and our way of life.

(5) Lastly, we must guard, as a mother her child, the cause committed to our care. We must sustain its interests, and wherever possible advance them. Among ourselves, in our own little groups scattered here and there throughout the world, we must keep burning, as on an abandoned altar in a blasted church, the light of truth. And we must lift this light, that, through the darkness, it may cast its rays afar, to bring comfort and guidance to all who are willing to see.

This means that, in these war times, we must still be rigorously faithful to our heavenly vision. Ordinarily this will be the quiet living of the life that we profess. On occasion, however, there will come some overt test that we must staunchly meet. When challenged we must bear witness; there must be no compromise, no surrender, no running away. But the challenge must come from others, not from ourselves. It must be our opponents who dare and defy us, not we them. And our answer to such challenge must be suffering, not self-assertion, or even self-vindication. Our trust must ever be in God, to save us as we serve him. Or, if not us today, then our cause tomorrow!

"Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, A. J. MUSTE } *Editors*

R. ALFRED HASSLER
Managing Editor

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Helene Hale
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Elmore M. McKee
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Reentered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

15 Cents a Copy $1.50 a Year

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

May 1944 — Vol. X—No. 5

American COs in World War II

By A. J. MUSTE

CIRCUMSTANCES make it imperative at this moment to make such a survey of matters relating to conscription and conscientious objectors as is attempted in this issue of *Fellowship*. Three years have elapsed since Civilian Public Service was inaugurated, more than three years since we have had men in prison for conscience' sake. Various special "detached service" projects have been under way long enough to give us a pretty good idea of their significance. On the other hand, the exigencies of war have brought the issues of conscription of labor and of women and the formation of conscript "labor corps" to the front; and the threat of permanent, peacetime conscription is upon us.

We need to evaluate our varied experience. In doing that we must seek to be objective. We must recognize the positive values in a form of witness of which we may not have approved, and yet we must not cling to a policy which has not justified itself, merely because we are too lazy or timorous to take positive action.

My own thoughts on the more important phases of our experience to date and the problems which now confront us may be summarized as follows:

1. A greater degree of cooperation has been achieved than had existed at any previous time among pacifist churches and organizations. The experience gained in the effort to work together has been of the greatest value, and the effort should continue. Unless we can provide a fairly convincing demonstration of ability to work together in spite of differences, the effectiveness of the pacifist witness will be seriously impaired at all points. But this will require recognition of what is valid in varying philosophies and programs, and avoidance of any effort to limit the freedom of any group. The attempt to concentrate all pacifist activities (even in the restricted realm of matters relating to COs) in a single centralized organization can only result in disaster. Orie Miller, of the Mennonite Central Committee, recently said, "I want to feel that other organizations *stand close* to us and that we can rely on them for help; I do not want to be *tied* to them."

2. As for the COs themselves, it seems to me that the conclusion is inescapable that an effective pacifist witness has been given by a substantial number of men in all categories—by 4Es and IAOs and "absolutists," and by the "cooperators" and the "non-cooperators" in prison. Likewise there have been those in all groups who have shown grievous shortcomings.

3. Though personally an "absolutist," I was at the beginning enthusiastic about the possibilities of a relatively independent pacifist witness under the CPS pattern, which would be free from the evils of the government-managed conscript camp which I feared and abhorred—and still fear and abhor. For some time now I have been convinced that CPS has brought about a tie-up between the Church and the war-making state in administering conscription which involves a profoundly dangerous compromise for pacifism and the Church. Partly on this ground and partly on others, the Historic Peace Churches are now, as I sense, so dissatisfied that they will not adopt the CPS pattern again in another war or in peacetime conscription. Unless the war lasts a very long time, however, I surmise that the present set-up will be adhered to by the Historic Peace Churches "for the duration"—but not without misgivings. There are a good many men in CPS who believe that it has been exceedingly valuable, and its achievements should not be minimized.

4. New imagination and energy ought to be put into the effort for satisfactory parole regulations for COs in prison and for dependency allotments and pay for CPS men. The Federal Council of Churches and the various denominations should certainly face their responsibilities in this connection. Could the social activists in CPS devise and carry through an effective campaign for these objects?

5. Increasing attention should be concentrated on a program for COs after the war which will meet their vocational needs and insure their maximum contribution to the pacifist cause.

6. Of supreme importance is the organization of the campaign against permanent conscription (May Bill and all similar measures). Even if liberal provision were made for COs and the measure camouflaged by giving some non-COs a choice at the outset of civilian rather than military training, such conscription would sound the death-knell of American democracy and of hopes for peace. If an attempt is made to put the measure over *during the war,* my hope would be that CPS men would at once refuse to render any further alternative service and the Service Committees to take any further part in its administration. If it is adopted after the war, nothing but complete exemption for COs and freedom to serve mankind on a purely voluntary basis should satisfy us.

HOW DO CPS MEN THEMSELVES FEEL ABOUT THE SYSTEM? ONE OF THEM HERE RECORDS HIS EXPERIENCES AND REACTIONS DURING —

Two Years in CPS

By HOWARD SCHOMER*

SOMBER NOVEMBER was settling down over the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina when I reported to Buck Creek CPS Camp, near Asheville, in 1941 to undertake "work of national importance under civilian direction." Soon a hard winter struck Crabtree Meadows, a 160-acre tract of wilderness alongside the lofty Blue Ridge Parkway, which the men of Buck Creek were struggling to conquer in accordance with the plans of the National Park Service. My first job was toting logs, but in the course of the winter I helped in felling the heavy stand of large, dead chestnut trees, in grubbing stumps out of the projected roadways, and in running topographic surveys through almost forgotten forest land. Throughout a long, dry April and May our men were almost continually fighting forest fires, sometimes living on the fire line for a week at a time. We loved this game and got to play it well enough to receive the special commendation of the Chief Ranger of our nation's park service. This record brought us further fire-fighting assignments, large numbers of CPS men being sent west to combat the bigger fires there.

There were mountaineer Bible Christians at Buck Creek, schoolteachers with Yale degrees, Iowa farmers, Southern factory workers, and up-and-coming Northern businessmen. Our one obvious common denominator was friendliness; the majority of us were bent on living together at Buck Creek in a way which would be meaningful and a good testimony to the conviction of human brotherhood which each, in his own fashion, held. But we were very human. Gradually the dullness of the work project, the inefficiency of the Park Service supervisors, the growing impecuniousness of most of us, our strained relationships with the public and especially with some people back home, the crumbling of our self-respect for lack of work which could, perhaps dangerously for us, bring relief to victims of the war, and supremely, I believe, the growing awareness that we had such slight inner resources upon which to draw as the road led out beyond the farthest bounds of all that our faith could see—these several conditions of our lot made ever deeper inroads upon our first buoyancy and idealism. Here and there a man would quietly go off to the Army. A few cracked up nervously or mentally and were discharged and hospitalized. With set jaws we who had been in camp a long time looked ahead to spending years in the "Gulch." Good humor still graced most of our camp community life, but for the first time, hard-bitten resignation and even bitterness began here and there to show through.

Into this sultry atmosphere suddenly burst a great puff of cool, fresh air called by the name "detached service." Before the United States entered the war, the Quakers had hoped to secure permission to send some of us into their widespread child-feeding work in unoccupied France. Even after American involvement they made plans to send a token group to assist British Quakers in their many-sided relief services to blitzed British civilians. Selective Service approved this plan, as it did the proposal to send a large medical unit to the Burma Road, where Chinese civilians were then taking a terrible strafing. But the State Department, for unexplained reasons, refused to issue passports to the members of these units, and their selection and training was all for naught. Thus the men in the camps had come to feel that they were gently interned, right where they were, for the duration. Now we at Buck Creek were unexpectedly asked to send fifteen of our ablest men to be attendants in a Virginia mental hospital. About the same time we were ordered to send twenty-five more men to eastern California to be part of the main forest-fire suppression crew for a large area. And similar orders were received by several other camps.

At Gorham, New Hampshire

My own special bid to move came in the form of an invitation from the Quaker office to help as educational director in the opening of a new camp at Gorham, New Hampshire. My transfer from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the White Mountains took place in October, 1942.

If a tinge of bitterness had come to dye our community life at Buck Creek, the tone of Gorham from the outset was, in spite of the presence of some very selfless and imaginative men, restless, cynical, and angry. The camp was located some thirty miles from the Canadian border, and its first 107 assignees came from three smaller camps in Massachusetts which were closed down because their Forest Service jobs were completed. In keeping with the original philosophy that Civilian Public Service is a voluntary and unpaid contribution to the national welfare, these men in the Massachusetts camps were asked if they wanted to go up to Gorham or to some other Forest Service project in Maryland or Oregon. Their answer as to New Hampshire was an emphatic "No!" In neither their judgment nor that of the Quaker office did it make good sense to open a camp in that region just as the six-month winter was setting in. Nevertheless, jockeying within the Department of Agriculture and between it and Selective

* Mr. Schomer, of Oak Park, Illinois, is a graduate of Harvard. He was an honorary Junior Fellow in the Chicago Theological Seminary and had a brilliant three-year record there, being ordained in June, 1941. He could not accept the preferred status given to ministers and theological students in the Selective Service Act and declined to register until these groups were permitted to waive their exemption. When this permission was granted, he registered as a conscientious objector and entered Civilian Public Service. This article is reprinted by permission from *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register*, November 1943.

Service officials settled the matter in favor of Gorham, and by the middle of October these men were moved up, only to find that the place, one of the oldest CCC camps, was unfit for habitation. The Army had cleaned out all movable equipment, and most of the buildings, perched on a steep mountainside, were in precarious condition.

The first two months were spent largely in putting new foundations under the barracks, and the snow was falling long before that job was done. Then it became increasingly clear that we had no real work to do up there: our project consisted mainly of clearing ski trails no one had the gasoline or time to use and of tearing down other old CCC buildings only to burn 90 per cent of what we dismantled. In January, however, Providence and a shrewd Yankee county fiscal agent put us to good use. There were some three thousand people on relief in the county, most of them old folks, and a main item of their allotment was cordwood, this being one of the largest wood-fuel-burning districts in the country. But labor was so short that cordwood could hardly be bought. The United States Forest Service agreed to give the county wood for a nominal charge if we would cut in real quantity. Our men managed, in a winter that saw temperatures as low as 45 degrees below zero, to cut more than seven hundred cords in two months. This job gave us a boost while it lasted, but by March it was clear that even the summer work the Forest Service had in view was impossible owing to WPB restrictions on construction. On May 1 the camp was closed by Selective Service, most of its personnel being shipped to the West Coast to work on "higher priority projects."

At Connecticut State Hospital

I requested transfer to the new CPS unit at the Connecticut State Hospital at Middletown, and I began work there as an attendant in March 1943. CPS questions dropped into the background before the constant eventfulness of the day's work on the wards. After a breaking-in period of service in many different types of wards, I was settled in the Acute Illness and Surgical Ward, and I was regularly assigned to operating-room orderly duty when operations occurred. Our men brought a new element of considerateness and even personal friendship into our routine contacts with the patients, and many responded. We were able to handle disturbed and resisting patients without using blows, and we learned experimentally that nine out of ten times the use of violence in restraining a patient is unnecessary. Concerning the tenth time most of us reserved judgment, for it did not come up. The ugly side of the work never overshadowed the knowledge that we—and nine hundred other CPS men in such hospitals across the land—were helping a little in meeting one of the most acute manpower shortages in the country.

At Haverford College

And yet I left Middletown. In June a way suddenly seemed to open for the carrying out of the peacemaker's witness in its great historic form: the bringing of impartial and person-centered relief to sufferers in war-devastated areas. Hundreds of British COs had been working in several theaters of the war for nearly three years. Now the Chinese ambassador, Secretary of War Stimson, Mrs. Roosevelt, and the President himself commended the proposal of sending some of our men to assist the British Friends' Ambulance Unit in China.

My chance came a few weeks later when I was asked to be one of the 290 CPS men whom Selective Service was allowing the peace churches to move from the camps to their several campuses for intensive nine-month courses in "European War Relief and Rehabilitation." All of us who accepted appointment declared ourselves ready to serve in any field for at least one year after the war. Because of my special interest in central and northern Europe, I was assigned to the Haverford College unit, whose academic dean was Douglas V. Steere.

But, when we assembled our unit of fourteen for its first meeting on July 1, Douglas Steere brought us the news that, in the wild last hours of the previous evening in the halls of Congress, an Alabama congressman had gotten a rider attached to the Military Appropriations Bill forbidding expenditures for such enterprises as ours. The only expense the government bore in our whole plans was whatever part of their salaries General Hershey and his military aides earn by keeping a watchful eye on our doings, but that was enough to kill our whole undertaking! The net result was that Hershey, acting under the clause of the rider permitting him to draw on his budget to liquidate our training and overseas program, graciously fixed the date of our death knell for September 1. We who were in the training units went to work with what heart we could. I have just finished two months crammed full of study of the backgrounds and probable relief and reconstruction needs of the Scandinavian lands, beginners' Swedish and fourth-year German, and the basic principles of social case work in the war-relief field.

At Big Flats, New York

As I wind up this account of the wanderings of body and spirit of one member of a small group of American dissenters, I am sitting in the reading-room of CPS Camp 46, Big Flats, New York. Today I weeded rows of specially selected Kentucky blue grass in an overgrown field. Some of my crew mates were members of the Relief and Rehabilitation Training units. Before conscription one, whose father is a Yankee teacher of philosophy, was at once a steel worker, union organizer, and lawyer; another was engaged in social work; and another, having a doctorate in the history of religions, had been a college teacher for four years. The fields in which we worked today and will work tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow are part of the Big Flats Soil Conservation Service Nursery. Our weeding is part of the experimentation which may lead to the discovery of grasses which will enlarge the yield of the cattle and dairy industries in a dozen states, holding the soil together also where erosion is now beginning. In a world which desperately needs to produce vastly more food, we try not to underestimate the potential value of our simple labors. And yet, does the nation, do our fellow men, have no needs today which call more urgently for our best abilities, our special vocation to the cause of good human relations? Because we say war must not be, shall most of us be bound over for the duration and more to tasks that demand so little of us and give so little to humanity *now*, in its present hour of need?

After registering under the Selective Service Act, this man returned his cards and refused further cooperation with his draft board, saying,

"I Cannot Longer Compromise"

By LEE W. LYNNE*

LOCAL BOARD NUMBER —,
Portland, Oregon.

DEAR SIRS:

After long deliberation, I have decided to return to you the registration and classification cards issued to me under the regulations of Selective Service. I do this not because of any ill will toward the administrants of the law, but because I cannot longer compromise my faith by adhering to a system which to me is un-American and anti-Christian. My regret is that I have waited this long to take the step, for I have never had an inner consent in submitting to the law. I felt guilty in registering, and in taking the subsequent steps which the law requires, knowing that I was violating the best within myself. I tried to justify myself with the argument that the government has a right to any information concerning me that it may desire. I still think this is true. But the fact that it asks for such information as an aid to sluicing men into international fratricide is to me wholly abominable. As you know, I expressed my opposition to the system when I registered, and re-expressed it on my questionnaire. But going only that far could not square me with the truth. I was opposing and upholding the law at the same time. Had this been a matter of judgment rather than of conscience, I might have justified the duplicity. But under the circumstances, I cannot. Therefore I return the cards, and leave any resulting dispositions to you.

* * * * *

It may or may not be of interest to you to know what added considerations have attended my move in this direction, but for clarity I state them, and you can consider or dismiss them as you please.

As one of the younger enthusiasts who enlisted in World War I, I came out to discover an ominous and growing disillusionment over what we had done. The futility of it haunted all Europe, and haunted us when we came home. So great was its effect that General Pershing, in dedicating the Montfaucon memorial, within sight of which not only the United States, but also France and Germany, had suffered their greatest casualties, was forced to remark, "The last conflict brought no benefit to anyone." Moreover, neither America, nor any other nation, found herself capable of escaping the moral and economic backwash which accompanied the conflict. It swept down all standards, and left us wallowing toward a future sinister beyond all imagining. Yet now, with its ghastliness stark before us, we naively contend that we can heap up the tragedy and arrive at good.

In this, it seems to me, we are not only blinding ourselves to the negating evidence contained in the fact that we won "the war to end war," but to make matters worse, are willing to forfeit our ideals while we try to "do it again." Surely we are paying no attention to our constitutional guarantee against "involuntary servitude." And the kind of involuntary servitude which we are demanding carries disaster far beyond that from which we once claimed delivery. We have, in short, clamped on our nation, for peacetime as well as for war, the worst of the once despised European isms. In doing this, we have also shorn from our people the guarantee of religious liberty which from the beginning has been our cherished heritage. Although the Selective Service Act does not require it, the supplemental regulations have so circumscribed the lives of men motivated by religion that thousands have been driven into forced labor, and other thousands into prison. Whatever the intent of the law, or whatever its seeming grant to conscience, in effect it fines or confines men for having a conscience—or for being true to it—withholding from them the proper outlets for their training and capabilities, and exacting from them the fruits of their prescribed toils. And for those, the majority, who are offered the part time solace of religious oversight, there is exacted the further tribute of charge for upkeep.

This is a far cry from the principles of our founding fathers, who upheld freedom of religion in war as in peace, and even in the bitter days of the Revolution, declared (Continental Congress, 1775):

> "As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them, to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed Country which they can consistently with their religious principles."

The present draft act, although it exempts some individuals from being conscripted, exempts no one from supporting conscription, so that no person, even though his religion excludes war, can be true to his faith without violating the law. For though he himself be exempt, he promotes what his faith rejects unless he refuses to abide by the law. Moreover, none of the classes exempt from service is exempt because of conscience—only because of position or class. From the beginning I have been exempt because I am a minister. I once argued that from the starting point of exempting (among others) ministers, progress

* Formerly minister of Waverly Heights Congregational Church, Portland, Oregon, Mr. Lynne is an active FOR member, though he served in World War I and was wounded and gassed in battle.

might be made toward exempting a class more worthy: namely, that of individuals whose conscience has been kept supreme above war. I thought that should this happen, I might find myself free to support conscription, since then it would demand conscript service only from those who believe in such service, and would be basically granting a man his own convictions, as does the draft act in England, where, without a written constitution requiring it, there is guaranteed to all citizens the rights of their religious beliefs.

But I am sure now that I could not support even such a law, for the tragedy of conscription for war is found not in its failure to square with the religious conscience, which can take care of itself, but in its failure to recognize the nature of man, and of society, and of their mutual possibilities. The weight of military conflict always falls most heavily on young men, too young, considering the training most of them have received, to have arrived at a judgment carrying surety for themselves, or for their society. Thus not merely thousands, but millions, are sent into the carnage carrying an inner rebellion against the thing they have been called to do. If it is bad that a law provides no place except prison for the clear conscience, it is equally bad, if not worse, that it has no place except the battlefront for the conscience still groping for light.

I am aware of the fact that the majority of our people accept the argument—which is given judicial support by the Supreme Court—that there is no ultimate way of defending one's country except by war. I am also aware of the devious arguments by which proponents of religion gear their theology to the military machine, even to making Jesus a sanctifier of the carnage. For this, they must make their own account. This, however, will not deliver society.

Because the rank and file of our religious leaders uphold the Mosaic and pagan preachments for destroying enemies, rather than the Christian precepts for redeeming them, neither our government nor the general body of our citizens can be overly criticized for having no faith in the redemptive method, or for offering those who do believe in it no alternative except forced labor or prison. And realistically, it must be admitted that we have not yet attained the character necessary to make the redemptive method operative. If, consequently, the only instrument society can offer its members for the final showdown is a gun, they must fight with that, for men can fight only with what they have. It may be impossible for a political unit, such as a state, to provide its members anything sufficiently superior to a gun to lend substance to the proclaimed belief that a power higher than matter rules the universe. Yet it does seem pitiable that the few who have arrived at such a confidence should be so violently proscribed when they are needed most.

With such an attitude toward conscience, it is no wonder that we are reaping not only abroad, but also in our own midst, a whirlwind of violence and immorality, with adult and juvenile delinquency mounting throughout the land, leaving a train of rape, abortion, illegitimacy, disease and death. When we teach even our youngest to express glee over the desecration of human bodies, it is natural that they should turn that expression against one another, and against those who taught them.

America, I believe, even an America that knows no other way than war, can give its citizens something better than this, and can preserve a better hope by doing so. But it cannot do so by driving its citizens with threat and compulsion, or by suppressing those who by inner spirit are best qualified to engage world amity. If our nation fails freedom within, we shall be in poor position to extend it without; and if minorities, even religious minorities, are not safe here, they will not, if our example is emulated, be safe anywhere.

These, then, are the considerations which have led me to take the present step. I know how foreign they are to the popular mind at present. The day will come when they will be less foreign. Meanwhile, I believe it only fair that they be stated, and that you who, under federal statute, are called to deal with men who hold them, should be fully acquainted with their meaning.

Sincerely,

LEE LYNNE.

[Editor's Note: So far as we know, Lee Lynne's letter evoked no response from Selective Service, and he is still free to continue his work.

CHALLENGE

We live among the God-centered,
Satan-centered, live-by-sword-fire billions,
And we are few, we fire-filled fireless.
We stand in lonely places and watch
The jagged flames that cut, cross-cut across the earth.
We see the scorch and parch, the wastelands,
And in the distance hear the thud of rifle butts,
The moan of women, the scream of falling bombs,
And the shuffle, endless shuffle of hunger-heavy feet.

We walk in homeland cities, alone among the fire-stokers,
Hear the hate-drenched mutter
And the rasping cries of children.
We listen for the shatter of a brick-broken window
And a hissing burst of fire, near fire, singeing fire,
Fire all around us like the fire in the distance,
World fire, all-over-the-world fire,
Massive, thundering, star-high, hell-deep pyre.

We watch, we fireless few, we stand and watch,
And in our very standing, challenge.
How can we challenge? . . . How dare we?

We stand in fire-heat, and yet in shade,
And see what fire-blinded eyes can never see.
Know then as fire burns, so counter-fire burns the more,
And counter against counter blasts
Till all the world's a field of ashen hands
Which wielded fire-bearing weapons once,
Which could have worked together once
And in their working, worshiped.

This possible impossible to us is firm command.
This could-have-been shall Phoenix-rise from dust.
Though the vision lead us into unknown land—
How dare we challenge? . . . Dare we must!

WALLACE HAMILTON (CPS)

What kind of job are the COs doing in mental hospitals? Here is the way it looks to one who tries to be realistic about his pacifism.

The Big Job Lies Ahead

By BERNARD LEMANN*

"BUT YOU FELLOWS—I think what you're doing is positively heroic," said a lady veteran campaigner for world betterment, and active relief worker in wars past and present. Reminded that she has had her own firsthand acquaintance with misery, and also that for some time past others, unsung, have done the same job, she could merely say, "Ah, yes, but this is different, working all the time with mental cases" and "Yes, but the job has never been done the way *you* are doing it."

Curious attitude for one with such wide and deep experience. But typical reaction reflecting the general misinformed aversion to everything connected with insanity—an attitude that retards a sane public approach to the problems of mental illness.

What is the job really like to us who do it daily, when we try to observe and evaluate it objectively? Are we getting at the answer? No general view can be entirely disentangled from the accumulated experiences, trifling, provoking, amusing, or stirring, that impose themselves upon us in the endless pace of tomorrow and tomorrow.

For a sample, old Peter Schmerzbein, an extreme case. Lying in a bed to describe which as soiled would be a recourse to euphemism. Struggling to swallow his cocoa, but awkwardly hindering the process, he strained it through his overgrown mustache on the intake. Similarly, his disjointed, gutterally flavored words sieved through on the way out. His thighs drawn up beneath him, locked. Each hip defaced with great black splotches sunken far inward. No side to lie on, yet he must. Clutching fingernails and cries of pain whenever the stiff legs must be turned or lifted for changing bed linen. At least two changes necessary every afternoon. "Pardon me, Peter," said an attendant (a good-natured, active, college-age Quaker) in the midst of one of these changes. "Pardon if I seem to laugh at you, instead of weeping, just as I would want people to do if ever I get in this condition."

All of this meant nothing to Peter, who could be made to grasp only a few basic ideas. However, fortunately or otherwise, most of our patients are not so far gone, they exist as very real personalities. Mentally their departure from the norm varies with each individual case. On the whole there is not such a marked barrier as one might expect between their world and ours. Rather disconcertingly, certain patients seem more alert and dependable than some attendants!

In every ward are reliable patients who assume voluntarily a good deal of responsibility and relieve us in many ways. Each ward seems to constitute itself as a sort of spontaneous community wherein all the tasks and emergencies of living grind themselves out, like the inside of an erratic, creaking machine that haltingly willynilly achieves a result. Jojo Gadski, tongue-tied and cross-eyed, always sees to it that the milk for the sick ward is not forgotten. Jake Grayman, patient and unobtrusive, keeps the clothing supplies in order and feeds two imbeciles and an epileptic. Little Bill Goodchild, a self-effacing boy of twenty-eight, every night helps his sidekick Levi Thomas, a gangling gangrenous Negro, to get out of his pants. When Tony Pelucci comes looking for the suction plunger, then you know the plumbing is not functioning again.

These people are real people. That is the message for the lay public to remember; they are people like you or me, but who happen to be ill. Understood in this light, they lose the stigma and the horror of being strange and unaccountable. In a short time after entering the unit, we come to develop a protective impersonality toward them that grows up naturally as a necessary defense against fatigue and strain. This is in keeping with the hospital policy of maintaining an institutional atmosphere through our attitude toward all those in our care. As patients they are to be treated sympathetically, cheerfully, and with kindness, tact, and caution.

We are not trained and have had only brief experience, so none of us presume to deal with them therapeutically. Still, the major and most interesting part of our work is the relationship between us and the patients.

Hughie Tuggles, one-time crane operator, was for months the prize and pet of the senile building. Thick-set, with a big round head and saucer-like but semi-blind eyes. Often he wandered far from his bed inchingly on his gnarled outspread feet, and had to be led back. He was Irish and arteriosclerotic, hence beamingly michievous or noisily, aggressively irritable in turns. Yet whatever his humor, always innocent and always ready with an answer. "Say, Hughie, this is dreadful; your bed is all wet again." "Well, is it now! Sure, I wonder where it all comes frrrom!" Once he fell from bed, was found on his back in helpless confusion, his stiff extremities stretched upward, terrapin-fashion. "Why, Hughie, what has happened to you?" The answer boomed loud and sudden: "It didn't happen to *me!*" Pause, and then: "I was down here when it happened."

During working hours in the wards, it is sometimes a happy pastime and escape to enter into the fantasy of the patients' world. When Gus, a superannuated alderman, looms in the hallway swathed in his blanket and inquires through his scarce teeth, "Please, sir, can you tell me how to get to the aquarium?" then you can reply harmlessly, "Sure, Gus, let me take you to your bed; if you get in, it will take you there direct." "But there's three of us," says Gus, as though it were an obvious dilemma. "All right, I'll put all three of you in and besides I'll give you each a beautiful blue dillpickle all decorated with feathers. It

* A CPS man assigned to detached service with the unit at Philadelphia State Hospital, Philadelphia, Penna.

flies when you pull the string." "Oh, thank you," says Gus prosaically, "because we have to get there; my wife is waiting, you know."

The COs find more effective diversions and devote themselves to various outside interests during their leisure time. There are facilities for music and reading, study groups are organized, some men individually discover means of advancing themselves in one or more departments of knowledge. The town offers opportunities for socially useful activities. New wives or old girl friends enter importantly into the lives of many assignees.

Meantime, working in three shifts, we lack a sense of settled interpenetration of ideas and experience, we exchange brief reflections between our comings and goings, leave messages in each other's lockers, strive for ways of coordinating our efforts as members of a group with a single status and function within the hospital setup.

We live in clean, heated quarters with more than creature comforts. We live in safety, there is a risk of only minor and infrequent bodily injury, extremely remote risk of contracting any serious physical sickness and no danger of breakdown under the pressure of an intolerable environment. We meet our greatest enemy on the battleground of petty frustrations whose ultimate source is the state bureaucracy. During our shift we are subjected to nothing more harrowing than an interminable battery of arguments, pleadings, noisy profanity, begging (for milk, tobacco, or lights), grievances, imaginary ailments, or labored comments in organically impedimented speech which when finally deciphered proves to be mere chit-chat. After bedtime in the wards when the day noises subside, keeping watch we can listen to the snoring or groanings, the monologues, nightmare shrieks or the weird cacklings of sleep-laughter. Here we are the only supposedly sane beings in a house of 350 madmen—assorted epileptics, paralytics, syphilitics, schizophrenics, paranoids, potential suicides, and haggard ghost-ridden old men. But the thought strikes us for its dramatic possibilities only; for us it does not go deep. We know our patients as people and feel at home with them. We have come to look upon them with fondness and equanimity. It would be a disproportional spending of emotion to weep over any one of them. There is a bigger service to be done beyond any individual case.

The problem is such a large one that so far we have been able to do little beyond filling in as a wartime stop-gap, accepting the emergency measure of imperfect custodial herding. Most of us feel that if we are ever to make a positive contribution or leave a permanent influence, we shall have to consolidate our forces and put into application what we have learned in a sort of reconstruction program. It might have its beginnings locally, but to be significant it must become comprehensive, not only by affecting all mental institutions but by spreading into the outer world at large.

Much consideration and some publicity have been given to the alleged innovations and reforms made by COs—chiefly in the matter of introducing non-violent techniques in handling patients. Such publicity seems to pass over the fact that hospital administration has long since accepted traditionally the principles of humane treatment, maintained with relatively few infringements. Too little recognition has been given to the nucleus of loyal personnel

. . . Mental Hospitals

who, without the motivation that affects us, remain in spite of the beckoning of better jobs.

Of course, it is very likely that the presence of CPS men, who average a higher standard than the usual attendant type, has done something toward bringing into the wards an air of informal activity and reducing the instances of neglect and brutal handling. But all of us at times—through thoughtlessness or inertia, under pressure of monotony and discouragement, or possibly because of outside interests—have carried on at something below par or have been guilty of impatience and actual remissness.

There is every possible shade of opinion among our men with regard to the question of the use of violence (as apart from recognizably necessary physical restraint) in dealing with difficult cases. A small minority of the COs hold to the fairly prevalent view that some amount of toughness is necessary for keeping discipline—"to show them who's boss." None of us, products of the American way of life, has achieved enough self-discipline to put into action the principle of *satyagraha,* or perhaps even to understand it fully.

Lately the fellows working in the violent building have been excited by the successful outcome of a big ball game as a means of working off the excess energies of these hyperactive men. Fifty played at one time indoors, while hundreds made space in an orderly fashion and cheered on the sidelines. In other buildings bingo with small prizes has worked out well as a recreational outlet. Men who had spent their days listlessly stretched out on the paved floor of the dayroom have turned out to be seasoned winners at checkers. The poker games are amusing: "How many peanuts do you bet? O.K., I raise you six peanuts." Some patients have been encouraged to read to others, especially the blind, in English or in foreign languages. There is now under way a movement to discover means by which these tentative sporadic attempts may, through meetings and reports, be taken from the experimental stage and extended.

So the COs are serving in mental hospitals without histrionics. Once the neophyte becomes adapted, he fails to see his work as a hallowed mission, fails even to see the irony and grimness that at first struck him forcibly between the eyes. Conditions such as those described in Frank Olmstead's article,[1] the distressing sights and smells of the incontinent ward, the hazards of the non-violent approach to mental cases, somehow lose their punch and pungency over a period of time.

Our public's praises are a welcome stimulus in times when discouragement over disorder, callousness, or spite bears down upon us. But those who want to step along with us out of the position of marking time, must also say to us: "Fine, but what are you doing to revolutionize mental hospitals? What are you learning that can be used in coping with the vast impending problem of warborn madness that society will have to face and solve? Not even the most maudlin sentimentalist loses tears over these long-term abstract problems; but if our work is to be really significant we had better get busy and face them now.

1 "They Asked for a Hard Job," in *Fellowship,* November, 1943. Reprints are available at 5 cents each.

Three thousand COs are bringing disturbing new ideas into Federal prisons. Of both the COs and the prisons it is safe to predict that —

They'll Never Be the Same Again*

ACCURATE FIGURES are hard to get, but it is safe to say that more than three thousand conscientious objectors to war have been sentenced to terms in the federal prisons of this country since the Selective Service Act of 1940 went into effect. The great majority of these are now serving their terms; according to a recent estimate[1] conscientious objectors make up one-eighth of the population of the federal prisons.

Slightly more than half of these are Jehovah's Witnesses, who do not profess to be pacifists in the generally accepted use of that word. Of the remainder, the largest single group consists of men whose draft boards refused them classification as conscientious objectors, and who chose prison rather than induction into the armed forces. The third principal group, which is increasing rapidly in size, is made up of men who either have walked out of CPS camps or have refused to report to them when ordered to do so.[2] At the present time, indications are that as many conscientious objectors are being sent to prison each month as are reporting to CPS camps.

"Stone Walls Do Not a Prison Make . . . "

Inside the prisons strange and wonderful things are happening, things that cannot be adequately evaluated until some day after the war has ended. One thing is certain: the federal prison system will not be the same when the last CO leaves as it was when the first one entered. Men who will not cooperate with evil outside a prison are not much inclined to become its willing supporters inside.

This does not mean that all imprisoned COs challenge the prison administration openly, through strikes or fasts, or even that a large proportion of them do. The Bureau of Prisons reports that 98 per cent of the COs "cooperate"; and while that figure is pretty certainly considerably exaggerated, there is no question that the number of work- and hunger-strikers is relatively small. But there are other ways in which CO-prisoners are shaking the very foundations of the prison system, and so upsetting the conventional routine to which administrators are accustomed that one warden is reported to have said to a striking CO: "You COs may be glad when the war is over, but not half as much as I who yearn for the good old days of simple murderers and bank robbers for prisoners!"

For pacifists by the very nature of their lives witness to a way of life diametrically opposed to the punitive philosophy that underlies the penal system. A prisoner released from the Mill Point (W. Va.) prison camp told what it meant to other prisoners to know COs. . . .

"For many," he said, "it is the first experience with gentleness of any sort. They find ways to seek out the COs in solitary, and through ventilator pipes or cracks in the masonry they whisper questions about this miraculous force that refuses resentment or retaliation no matter what the provocation. They get answers that call into question the whole prison system and everything that leads to war. The authorities are afraid of this undermining of the divine right of law, and offer COs special privileges in a vain effort to silence them, but their influence goes beyond words and the other inmates are eager for what they have to give."

And when COs do make a direct challenge to the rules of prison, their weapons of non-violent good will are unexpected and throw officials into confusion. The stories of the Murphy-Taylor 82-day hunger strike in Danbury, and the subsequent and still-pending revelations smuggled out of the Springfield prison-medical center by these two heroic pacifists; of the Danbury work strike against racial segregation; and of the Lewisburg fast in protest against extreme censorship, have been told before. But there have been other, less-publicized incidents. This story, for instance, from the Mill Point prison:

"At Mill Point COs were flatly refused permission to meet for worship, partly because of a rule allowing no more than three inmates to gather at one time. . . . We continued to interview the superintendent, presenting our case and assuring him continually that we wanted only peace and harmony in the prison. In these talks we were treated in shameful disregard of civil discourse, and permission was refused again and again. We continued to meet for worship. The meetings were broken up by guards. We fasted quietly and without publicity, using the mealtime for a meditation which was curious because we tried to feel community of worship and spirit while remaining separate on our own bunks in different buildings. The situation of having 25 per cent of his inmate population in quiet, non-violent revolt against his suppression of freedom of religious worship eventually led the superintendent to offer us one meeting per week. We accepted and the situation ended peacefully for all concerned. . . .

"The color line was very evident. Discrimination against our Negro friends was not serious but it was rigidly held. Our approach to the problem was as near to real non-violent good will as we could make it. Before we made any move we consistently urged and demanded of ourselves a complete understanding of the problem of administering Negro and white prisoners in a Southern state. All our efforts for removal of color discrimination met with harsh refusal and

---

*Much of the material used in this article was collected and recorded by Marion Code.

1 Denny Wilcher in the *Christian Century*, March 8, 1944.

2 This refers to other than Jehovah's Witnesses, most of whom also have refused to report to CPS.

threats of punishment. We carried the fight to the Supervisor of Prison Camps in Washington with the same results. At last we gave up attempting to negotiate with administration officials and turned our efforts to ameliorating the effect of discriminatory regulations. Among these was a rule forbidding white inmates to visit friends in the colored dormitory. Another segregated Negroes at motion pictures, often to their disadvantage. We had formed our friendships in utter disregard of color. We continued to visit them in their own dormitory and began sitting with them at the movies. At first there was sharp rebuke. When reprimanded for sitting with a Negro friend I asked: 'Is America a democracy?' When the reply was 'Yes', I answered: 'Then I shall continue to conduct myself as an American citizen until I am stopped by un-American elements.' The result was surprising: the administration officials seemed to adopt a policy of pretending not to see us when we were fraternizing with Negroes. Thus to all practical purposes the color-line regulation was nullified."

There is no way of reckoning now what this experience of a thousand or more sensitive men will have on the prisons of America. The imprisonment of far fewer British COs during the First World War led to far-reaching penological reforms in the years that followed. That something similar may be expected here is seen in the organization —already—of a group of CO prison "alumni" for the purpose of sharing reactions and working to alleviate prison conditions.

The effect on other men, non-pacifist inmates, is more immediate and no less important. COs are teaching classes of such men; they are editing prison newspapers; and in these and a multitude of other ways are having an influence upon them. One young Lutheran minister, after fourteen months in prison, reflected ruefully that he had never been so busy before in his life. And, commenting on the charge that going to prison was "negative," he added that his "pastoral work" had never been in such demand or seemed so rewarding as it had during those fourteen months.

In the "Hole"

One aspect of prison life that will have left a vivid impress upon the minds of many COs is the practice of punishing men by putting them in solitary confinement—the "hole." Many a pacifist, striking in deliberate protest against what he considers an evil practice or merely speaking up in spontaneous protest against unfairness, has sampled the "hole" for his pains. What that experience means was described by one man:

"Why did they put me in? I never quite knew, but this is what happened: the cell block in that place has a lever which opens the doors. There is never any warning before meals. No bell or anything and they never give you any instructions, so that a newcomer is apt to be caught with his shoes off, not ready to jump into line when the door opens. It clangs shut and you are trapped, dinnerless. That happened to me once and I knew how it felt, so when I saw a young Negro knocking on his cell door after the line had formed I said to the guard: 'Can't we let that man out? He's new.' The guard said nothing. I thought he hadn't heard me and spoke again. Still he paid no attention, and I said rather loud, 'I don't see why he should miss his dinner for nothing his first day.' Then I gave up and kept still. When we reached the dining-room the guard told me to step out of line. My friend Tom stepped out with me. After keeping us waiting a long time we were sent up to a Lieutenant who had a written report which he read to me. It was all about how I had been insolent to a guard, questioning his authority, arguing all the way to dinner and being generally insubordinate. I was amazed at the distortion of facts and asked to be allowed to tell him what really happened. When I had finished he said: 'That's what *you* say. We'll take the officer's word for it. But I'll let you off lightly this time.'

"They took me away to the black hole. There is only an iron shelf and a toilet. At six o'clock in the morning they take away your blanket and bring you two slices of bread. I had been warned not to eat much so I saved one piece of bread from each meal, wrapped it in toilet paper and so in time made a little pillow to lift my head from the shelf. Only way I could sleep at all. The first day I sang all the songs I could remember, and sang over again all the ones I liked. I walked up and down so as to get tired enough to rest.

"When the guard came at noon he gave me some potatoes and water and more dry bread but he wouldn't speak. They aren't allowed to. When the others marched to meals I could hear a confused murmur down there where they were. After dinner I lay down and remembered everything I could think of, and so the afternoon passed. The evenings were worst; it was so long from five o'clock when they bring you two more slices of bread to ten when we got our blankets again. And it was cold down there. I shivered all the time. The third day I began to give out of songs and out of thoughts. I didn't know how long they might keep me there. The worst of it is they won't tell you how long it's to be for. They aren't supposed to keep you more than fifteen days but sometimes they take you out for an hour and then put you back again. You never know. The doctor comes twice a day to see you're still sane and that you don't kill yourself. They'd rather do that themselves. The third and fourth day I wondered if my mind was all right still. Everything slowed up. I couldn't think any more. I just sat. Then after five days they let me out."

That such an experience, endured for any length of time, would leave a tremendous psychic wound cannot be doubted. Pacifists who have witnessed and experienced such flagrant violations of the human personality will come out of prison with a matured determination to build a society in which such things will be forever eliminated.

TWO IN THE FIELD

One shall be taken, and the other left.
Invisible the deep-dividing cleft;
The soldier where the searing bullets rake,
The pacifist in jail for conscience sake.
Equal the sacrifice, the courage shown,
Each has a haunting glory of his own.

Two cells, alike save to the severing knife:
One holds the germ of death, and one of life.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Trial in Tennessee

"THE pastor and nine members of Marshall's Chapel Church of God were sentenced each to three years in a special institution, by Judge Boyd in Federal Court here Thursday night. John Leroy Marshall, the preacher, was also fined $1,000. . . . *Rev. Marshall was found 'guilty as charged' with violating the Selective Service Act in that he 'knowingly aided, counseled, and abetted' members of his flock to resist the Selective Service Act and refuse to report for induction into work of national importance."*

So read the news item in the Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial Appeal* of January 6 regarding a series of trials held in Jackson, Tenn. And a local FOR member reports that the newspapers handled the news very unfairly, failing to report that the preacher had testified that he had been cursed and chased out of the draft board office when he insisted on getting copies of Form 47 for his church members. After making a special appeal to headquarters in Memphis, the preacher was assured that his church members would be classified as conscientious objectors, but when they refused assignment to CPS the prosecutor never attempted to find out whether the men knew the nature of a CPS camp, or whether they were afraid they were being railroaded into some kind of army work camp.

The following report of testimony of defendants and arguments of the lawyers before the jury reveals vividly the sincerity of the defendants and the prejudice of the prosecution. It is not a verbatim record, but was based on careful notes. The words may not agree exactly with the court record, but they do preserve the meaning of all essential points. The lawyers for the defense were Martin Exum, white, and P. L. Harden, Negro. U. S. District Attorney C. P. J. Mooney handled the prosecution. Judge Marion S. Boyd heard the case and passed sentence.

* * *

(Excerpts from the cross-examination of Rev. John L. Marshall by Mooney.)

D.A.—Rev. Marshall, you are pastor of the Medon Church of God?

M.—Yes sir. I am one of the pastors.

D.A.—You are the head of this church, are you not?

M.—No sir.

D.A.—You're not! Well, then who is?

M.—Jesus Christ.

D.A.—Well, you make the rules, don't you?

M.—No sir.

D.A.—You don't. Who does?

M.—We go by the Bible, especially the New Testament. (He touched the Bible he carried with him throughout the trial.)

D.A.—Well, you interpret the Bible to your members, don't you?

M.—The Bible interprets itself.

D.A.—But don't you preach the doctrine of not fighting to these boys?

M.—We studies the Bible together.

D.A.—Now preacher, isn't it true that you told these boys that the Bible says not to *"anticipate* in war in any form" and didn't these boys use that same word in their testimony? And, in fact, didn't you kick one of your members out of the church because he took a job in a defense plant and was "anticipating in war."

M.—I didn't turn him out. He turned his own self out automatically.

D.A.—What do you mean?

M.—He went against his "conscientious." He knew when he took the job that he was automatically out of the church.

D.A.—Preacher, do you realize that if everybody in this country believed like you do that Hitler would be over here tomorrow?

M.—Now, wait a minute, wait a minute, sir. Let me explain my convictions on that. It say in the Bible that the Lord told Abraham that if he could find ten righteous men in Sodom he would spare the city. Now if God would spare Sodom if he could find only ten righteous men, don't you think that he would protect this country if people would do right and trust him? Why, of course he would! Of course, he would!

(The District Attorney didn't pursue the point.)

* * *

(Excerpts from cross-examination of H. L. Reaves by District Attorney Mooney.)

D.A.—So you don't "anticipate" in war?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—Don't believe in fighting of any kind?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—What would you do if somebody hit you across the face?

R.—I'd do like the Bible say do, "turn the other cheek."

D.A.—You're married, aren't you?

R.—Yes, sir.

D.A.—Any children?

R.—Yes, sir. One.

D.A.—Well, what would you do if some fierce monster of a man attacked your wife and stomped your child?

R.—The Lord would take care of us.

D.A.—Oh, come now, you don't really believe the Lord would protect you like that, do you?

R.—Yes, sir. The Lord will take care of you if you believe in Him.

D.A.—I suppose that you read the Bible?

R.—Yes, sir.

D.A.—From 'kiver to kiver,' huh? From, ah . . . I'm not so hot on that . . . ah, something to something. Genesis, I believe.

R.—I have read it, yes, sir.

D.A.—All right, what are the tenents of your belief?

R.—Sir?

D.A.—The tenents of your belief. What are they? Don't you know?

R.—Tenants . . . sharecroppers?

D.A.—"Tenents, tenents, t-e-n-e-n-t-s. And, oh yes, I believe your lawyer said something about veracity. Do you know what that is? Something you cook with, ain't it?"

R.—I don't know, sir.

D.A.—Your lawyer said you don't smoke?

R.—That's right sir.

D.A.—Don't cuss?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—Don't drink?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—Don't chew, dip snuff, or shoot dice?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—But you're willing for the dice shooters to go out and fight while you stay at home?

R.—No, sir. I don't want them to go out and fight.

D.A.—Well, who's going to do the fighting?

R.—If people would do right and believe in God there wouldn't be no fighting.

D.A.—Why didn't you obey this order to report for physical examination for work of national importance?

R.—The man at Memphis told us we would be exempted from anticipating in war. He told us —

D.A.—Answer the question. Why did you disobey this order from your country?

R.—I don't want to disobey my country but I has to obey God.

D.A.—Did God tell you not to obey this order of the board.

R.—No, sir. The Bible says —

D.A.—Didn't your preacher advise you not to obey this order?

R.—No, sir.

D.A.—How much did you pay this preacher to keep you out of going to war? A dollar every Sunday, wasn't it?

R.—No, *sir*. We put in a nickel or a dime on third Sunday. We never had no dollar to put in.

D.A.—Why are you shielding this preacher? Who told you what to say on this stand?

R.—Nobody told me what to say. I'm telling the truth.

D.A.—Instead of trying to keep him out of the fire you had better be think-

(*Continued on Page* 97)

More Liberal Parole Plan Offered COs in Prisons

A new and more liberal parole plan for conscientious objectors in prison has just been announced by Selective Service and the Bureau of Prisons, and already has been placed in effect in most Federal prisons. Men between 18 and 37 who have served at least 60 days are to be brought before a special panel draft board in each prison and classified 1A, 1AO, or 4E and then given a standard pre-induction physical examination, if the men wish to take it. Those who fail to pass will be given 4F and paroled without restriction as to place of residence, job, or salary. But each man must have a job before he is released. Parole supervision by the Bureau of Prisons will prevent their reclassification by local draft boards until their sentences have been completed. Men over 38 will be given the same type of parole.

Men classified 4E will be allowed to choose between going to a CPS camp and serving in various tax-supported institutions or agencies under the supervision of the Department of Justice on a basis practically identical with the CPS plan.

Men who are given 4E but do not wish to accept either of the plans above noted are still eligible to receive parole after they have served one-third of their sentences.

The new plan seems likely to correct a great many injustices now existing in the handling of COs, especially since the special panel draft boards have been instructed to base their decisions on the Kauten and Phillips court decisions, which interpret "religious training and belief" very broadly and permit 4E classification of any person conscientiously opposed to war, without consideration of church attendance or belief in creeds.

Race Institute In Kansas City

A three-day Race Relations Institute held in Kansas City, Mo., April 14-16, under the auspices of the local FOR, attracted as many as 500 persons to some of its sessions and received considerable favorable publicity in the press.

A number of those attending the institute (both white and Negro) participated in tests of downtown theatres, restaurants, and drug stores to discover the existence and the causes of race discrimination, and later reported their findings. Considerable discrimination was found, based principally on the fear of losing business.

One member of the committee investigated Kansas City churches to see if Negroes would be welcome as worshipers. One minister answered with a straight "no," while eight clergymen answered emphatically "yes." Three of those questioned refused to answer. Twenty-three said, "Yes, but—I would have to take it up with the board first" or some such provisional reply.

Leading speakers at the institute were Nevin Sayre, co-secretary of the National FOR, and James Farmer, secretary of the National FOR Race Relations Department, both of New York; and Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg, of Kansas City, who also was one of the sponsors of the institute.

News of COs Everywhere

Jimmie Fidler, Hollywood radio commentator, in a recent broadcast read the following statements from a letter from Capt. Lowell R. Eklund, U. S. Cavalry, concerning Sgt. Lew Ayres, former movie star who registered as a CO and is now in the Army Medical Corps as a 1AO:

"Sgt. Lew Ayres was attached to our Headquarters last summer and I had an opportunity to observe this man whom press and public had victimized because of his adherence to a principle. . . .

"Now people knew he had objected to bearing arms—that is, to killing—but they didn't know how wholesomely sincere his objections were. They were not the result of an overnight decision. They grew out of his lifelong religion and his ideals.

"Among other things, Ayres is an absolute vegetarian. This is not a dietetic whim, but because he won't eat anything that has lived. For him, life is a gift from God, for God to give and for God only to take away.

"Now I'm a soldier and I appreciate my duties as such. I do not agree with Lew's philosophy. But he is sincere, and it's not for you or me to condemn him for his sincere beliefs. . . .

"I repeat, I do not agree with Lew's philosophy, but I will pray that after this war . . . the world will be blessed with more of his kind. Because only when his ideals become universal will we gain the greatest objective of humanity, eternal peace."

* * *

The Hearst *Detroit Times* used the recent reorganization of a group of pastors and pacifists into the Michigan Council for COs as an occasion for a front page story "exposing" the group as primarily a propaganda agency providing "bail, advice, comfort, and aid for COs taken in the draft."

The CPS unit at Lynchburg Colony (mental hospital) Lynchburg, Virginia, invited Perry Saito, Japanese-American FOR secretary, to be its guest speaker at a recent meeting. The event drew unfavorable publicity from several Virginia and Washington (D. C.) newspapers, and H. Minor Davis, a member of the State Hospital Board, visited the colony to investigate the meeting personally. Later the hospital superintendent, A. D. Hutton, was quoted as saying that such a meeting would "never occur again as long as I am here." D. K. Christianberry, CPS unit leader expressed regret that he had not informed Dr. Hutton of Saito's visit before the meeting.

* * *

Here is an interesting excerpt from an editorial in the *Miami* (Fla.) *News*:

"In the first round of what may become an historic battle in the American courts, Dade County Circuit Judge Marshall C. Wiseheart has upheld the action of the Dade County School Board in dismissing Edward O. Schweitzer from his teaching post last summer on the sole grounds of his being registered as a conscientious objector.

"The best thing about this decision is that it is going to be appealed through the Florida Supreme Court. . . . "

* * *

Man O' War, a paper published by soldiers in Camp Santa Anita, Calif., not long ago carried this statement about conscientious objectors:

"We do not happen to agree with the creed of COs, but we do agree that they have a right to feel as they do. We are fighting this war to prove that a man has a right to be free and to worship as he will. . . . It ill becomes a group of professional patriots, whose contribution to our fight for the Four Freedoms consists of seeking to oppress a minority, to feel that they are to judge what is honorable service to the nation."

Morris H. Rubin, writing an editorial in *The Progressive,* quoted the above statement and declared, "This statement, written by and for men in America's fighting forces, should put to shame the Walter Winchells and other professional patriots who watch in war, with mounting intolerance for all minorities, from the Stork Clubs of America."

* * *

The News Statesman and Nation, of London, reports that:

"On Wednesday before Christmas, a party of between 30 and 40 COs and friends, many of whom had themselves been in prison, sang carols outside Wormwood Scrubs prison. . . . In deference to the vegetarians present, the verse of Good King Wenceslas beginning "bring me flesh and bring me wine," was omitted.

CPS in the Spotlight

Brooks Trial Questions Legality of CPS

The trial of R. Boland Brooks, attorney and former director of the NCCO, before Judge Simon Rifkind, in Federal Court, New York, on March 16, for refusing to report to CPS camp, is considered one of the most significant cases of the war. Brooks directly challenged the right of the government to conscript men for non-military, non-war purposes.

Ernest Angell, prominent attorney of the ACLU, represented Brooks. He cited the 1917 draft law cases to prove that Congress can conscript men only for war and the defense of the country, and then pointed out that COs are at present being conscripted for "work of national importance under civilian direction" in no way connected with the war.

Angell also argued that the rights of conscience are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and cannot be infringed except in case of danger to the safety of the country or its citizens. Obviously the safety of the nation does not depend upon holding a few thousand COs in work camps.

Another argument presented by Angell was that the present administration of CPS by Selective Service is illegal. He showed that Congress fully intended to recognize the civilian rights of COs, as the English have done, but that actually our COs are now being punished for their religious convictions by being made to work and live in labor camps with no pay or dependency provisions, and under semi-military regulations established by army officers in Selective Service. He asserted that this amounts to involuntary servitude.

Judge Rifkind reserved decision. Because of the far-reaching implications of the case, an appeal is expected to be taken, whatever the decision.

Dependents of CPS Men Need Help

The care of dependents of men in CPS camps has become a serious problem. Congress recognized the rights of conscientious objectors in the Selective Service Act, but made no provision for supporting the wives and children of the men sent to "work of national importance under civilian direction" as an alternative to military service.

The result has been to force some men into the army because they could not afford to work without pay in the CPS camps, and to work great hardship on the wives and children of those who feel they must refuse military service at whatever sacrifice.

The religious agencies directly concerned with COs have attempted to relieve the worst cases of hardship by organizing a Dependency Council within the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. This body makes every attempt to help COs' dependents to meet their own needs or obtain assistance locally, but if all attempts fail, it issues cash grants from a fund set up by the Friends, Mennonites, Brethren, FOR, and other groups and individuals.

Ferner Nuhn Visits CPS Camps

After visiting several CPS camps and talking and living with the men there, Ferner Nuhn wrote: "As a writer and student of American culture, CPS is a most interesting phenomenon to me personally—the most interesting thing now going on in the U. S., in my opinion.

"I found serious interest in intellectual and religious thought, on the whole more real curiosity about spiritual and social things than one can find among comparable groups of persons anywhere else that I know of. And this on top of daily physical work! The variety of social and cultural types made a strong impression. I attended liberal and fundamentalist meetings; and met men of every sort of national, economic, cultural and occupational background, and of both black and white races. That these men are all thrown together and are making some sort of common life —very intimate common life—on the basis of this one bond of having objected to war, struck me as the greatest over-all value of the camps.

"The hardest time for CPS is coming along now, as the 'duration' goes on indefinitely, and the men's financial condition worsens. Let us seek to improve their situation wherever we can, but let us cease agitating their feelings with doubts and aspersions concerning the status itself. Rather, let us give both physical and moral support to actual COs wherever they are, in prison, in the camps, on detached service.

"The matter of dependency and of financial support and aid in general is of course a serious one. It seems to me that, outside of Washington, the place where effort needs to be put is in awakening the consciences of the large body of church members, especially in the non-peace churches, to their responsibility in this connection. CPS is the churches' baby, legally and logically at this stage of things, as well as by moral rights. As the prospect of a 'Christian peace' fades, the opportunity to present the situation of men in CPS and in the prisons will increase. I think there ought to be a large scale financial drive launched in the churches. The fulcrum is already established. It is truly shameful that the great bulk of professing Christians have been ready to dish out millions and billions in aid to the war effort while they have contributed almost nothing, the most paltry crumbs, to support these sons of theirs who have been consistent enough to take Christian and humanitarian teaching seriously."

New Ruling Aids COs

A CO who is denied exemption need not enter the army before securing a judicial review of his case, according to counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union who have examined the Supreme Court decision in the case of Arthur G. Billings. They point out that this supersedes the former ruling, and that a CO who is classified 1A may now fulfill the law by reporting to the induction center, as ordered, but refusing to take the oath or to place himself under military jurisdiction. Then, upon arrest by civil authorities, he may test his draft classification by the usual habeas corpus procedure.

One-third of CPS Men In Detached Service

More than a third of the nation's seven thousand conscientious objectors in Civilian Public Service are serving in many unusual ways under "Detached Service."

About 1,500 are working in 34 mental hospitals across the nation, institutions that have difficulty getting enough attendants even in ordinary times and now are in desperate need of manpower.

More than 500 work on dairy farms to ease the nation-wide shortage of milk and butter and other dairy products.

About 175 men are helping in various capacities in training schools for juvenile delinquents.

More than 100 are acting as dairy herd testers to help dairy farmers improve their herds and increase production.

Nearly 150 are employed at agricultural experiment stations, helping to improve the quality and quantity of the nation's food supply.

Approximately 100 men are offering themselves as human guinea pigs for various scientific experiments being conducted by the Office of Scientific Research and Development and by the U. S. Surgeon General's office.

More than 80 are working at various tasks in general hospitals.

About 75 men have been assigned to the Public Health Service of Florida, to conduct the fight against hookworm, a serious plague in the South.

Some 50 men are working under the Department of Commerce in mapping uncharted areas of the West with the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Seventy-five are charting the weather for the government at Mt. Weather, Va.

About 200 are working for the Bureau of Reclamation in the Government Camp at Mancos, Colorado.

Nearly 70 men are getting thrills by parachute jumping from Forest Service planes to fight forest fires in the Northwest.

Seventy-five men are in Puerto Rico, maintaining hospitals and medical dispensaries where they are desperately needed.

The rest are distributed in miscellaneous but no less important projects, many of them preparing for reconstruction and rehabilitation work in foreign countries as soon as the war is over.

The total now amounts to nearly 3,000 men.

President Hears NCCO Committee

A committee from the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors (of the American Civil Liberties Union) had a half-hour interview with President Roosevelt on March 8, and requested his aid in correcting injustices and violations of civil liberties now suffered by many conscientious objectors under the present system.

The committee made four specific requests: (1) that supervision of CPS be transferred to a civilian agency, such as the Department of Interior or Agriculture, and that a presidential order provide for compensation up to $50 a month and maintenance, and for dependency allotments; (2) that a special board of civilians be established to replace the present board of military officers to hear the appeals of conscientious objectors; (3) that the Department of Justice have sole jurisdiction over paroles of conscientious objectors; and (4) that a commission, preferably civilian, be appointed to examine the cases of all conscientious objectors in the army in an effort to reclassify those who have gotten into the army by error, as well as other cases which may arise in the future.

Up to date Congress has refused to take any action to remedy injustices in the CO situation, and all recourse to the courts has been ineffective, but much power rests with the Chief Executive and now for the first time he has been properly informed of the violations of law and the infringements of civil liberties resulting from present interpretations of the Selective Service Act. The committee is hopeful that favorable action will result.

C.O. News in Brief

Department of Justice figures show that there are almost three times as many conscientious objectors in this war as in World War I.

COs now average about 38 out of every 10,000 inducted, as compared with 14 out of every 10,000 in the last war. About 12,000 have been classified 4E, and about 22,000 have accepted 1AO assignments.

* * *

A citizens committee was recently formed in the San Francisco Bay area for the purpose of interpreting COs to public officials, especially judges, probation officers, U. S. attorneys, and newspaper editors. Their activity has proven extremely worthwhile, members of the committee report, and they urge groups in other cities to try it. They find out the reasons of each official for unsympathetic treatment of COs, and then present all possible facts and arguments in favor of more leniency. They have found that some judges oppose probation because they erroneously believe if they use it the COs will get into trouble with Selective Service later; and many judges had given no thought to the hospital probation plan now in use in Southern California.

* * *

At the beginning of this year the total estimated cost of CPS to the churches cooperating was $3,588,533.20. The major part of this amount was used for maintenance of members of the historic peace churches: Mennonites, $1,466,257.80; Brethren, $450,086.77; and Friends, $359,065.31. Maintenance for men from other churches (or none) amounted to $1,313,123.32.

Cost of CPS to the Government was in the neighborhood of $2,500,000, mainly for maintenance of the work programs, equipment, and superintendents' salaries.

* * *

Mentally retarded inmates of Pennhurst State Training School in Spring City, Penna., found the phrase "conscientious objectors" too difficult, so they just call them "injectors." The regular school staff has adopted the term, and the COs good-naturedly accept the designation.

* * *

Judge Claud McCulloch, of the U. S. District Court, Portland, Oregon, in trying the case of a CO, William G. Webb, asked, "Are you a religious objector?" Webb replied, "I hesitate to use the word 'religious' because of the popular connotations . . ."

"Don't use such big words," the judge broke in. "I can't understand them." Webb's hearing lasted ten minutes; he was sentenced to three years.

Ammon A. Hennacy, who refused to register for World War I and World War II, is continuing his fight against war by notifying the Collector of Internal Revenue in Albuquerque, N. M., that he will pay no income or victory taxes as long as the Government engages in war.

* * *

In England a pacifist member of the Independent Labor Party, polled 2,336 votes in a contest for a parliamentary seat. His Conservative Party opponent secured only 5,014 votes in spite of the fact that for two days loudspeaker cars howled against the "Conchie Candidate."

* * *

The Japanese have no phrase in their language for "conscientious objectors," according to Theodore Walser, former missionary to Japan, and there is no exemption from military service even for Buddhist priests or Christian ministers.

However, pacifism has been known as far back as the Russo-Japanese War; and there were considerable numbers of pacifists when Japan undertook her present war with China in 1931. They are imprisoned, put in non-combatant service, or shot. About 1938 the Japanese government rounded up 387 "dangerous persons" and has kept them in prison indefinitely without trial.

* * *

Canada's handling of COs has been considerably more liberal than that of the U. S. Eligible men are assigned to one year's service in forestry or work camps and at the end of that time are permitted to return to their former jobs.

Employers of men with convictions against war are required to make a three-way contract with these employees and the government. This contract provides, among other things, that "the employee shall be entitled to receive and enjoy all services and privileges accorded by the employer to his other employees. The employee shall not be allowed to work any greater number of hours and shall be entitled to holidays in accordance with the custom of the employer."

Those who refused to report for either army or alternative service were given jail terms of six months. If they have not changed their minds at the end of the term, they return to jail for another six months.

* * *

The U. S. Department of Agriculture bulletin observed recently that: "Volunteer conscientious objectors in the main made up Forest Service's parachute crews this year. They have performed valuable and dangerous service in fighting fires in inaccessible mountainous country where blazes would otherwise soon have become unmanageable and very destructive."

News from the Peace Front

Germans Now Cooperating To Send Food to Greece

The British Government on March 17 announced that German officials in Italy actually are cooperating with a neutral relief commission in feeding the people of Greece, and that a Swedish vessel is "now engaged under British safe conduct in transporting from Venice to Piraeus (Greece) foodstuffs from German sources which the Germans have undertaken to deliver to Greece in compensation for Greek produce which they have consumed or are consuming themselves."

This news offers an interesting contradiction of those who have opposed feeding the starving peoples of occupied countries on the ground the German authorities would prevent the people from receiving the benefit of such aid. Perhaps there is yet hope of action on the suggestion of the Archbishop of Canterbury that food and medicine must be sent quickly to the Continent to prevent serious and permanent injury to the health of 9,500,000 children.

Those who wish to aid the cause should write their Congressmen to support HR221, which is practically identical with the Gillette-Taft Resolution which passed the Senate unanimously on February 15.

Southern Editor Upholds Negro Rights

Editor Virginius Dabney, of the Richmond *Times Dispatch,* boldly supported Negro rights in an editorial praising the Supreme Court's recent decision re-establishing the right of qualified Negro electors to vote in primary elections. He pointed out that "the skies haven't fallen on the Old Dominion because of participation by colored citizens in our primaries," and then declared: "No society is a truly democratic society which shuts out anywhere from a quarter to a half of its people from all part in the choice of the officials under whom they must live and work."

New FOR Workers

Kenji Okuda and Robert Tandy have been chosen to work for the FOR during the coming summer, speaking in various institutes and conferences.

Kenji Okuda was attending the University of Washington when evacuation was ordered, and he spent a year in a relocation center. Now he is a student at Oberlin College. He is president of the Student Council there, and active in the YMCA.

Robert Tandy is a young Negro preministerial student at the University of Redlands, California.

Evacuation Test Case

Whether Japanese-Americans were deprived of constitutional rights in being forcibly removed from the Pacific Coast and held in detention will soon be decided by the U. S. Supreme Court, which consented recently to review the conviction of Fred Korematsu, of Oakland, California. His is the first case squarely raising that issue alone to be presented to the Supreme Court. The previous cases turned on the question of curfew regulations by the military as affecting Japanese-Americans.

Organize Demonstration Against Filibuster

A peaceful and orderly demonstration against the expected anti-poll tax law filibuster in the United States Senate is being planned by the FOR and eleven other organizations including the March - On - Washington Movement, Workers Defense League, and the Socialist Party.

The anti-poll tax bill is expected to come up for consideration in the Senate about May 1, and the organizations planning the demonstration plan to throw a picket line around the Capitol area if discussion of the bill continues longer than four days. The pickets will keep walking as long as the poll-taxers keep talking. Police will not interfere as long as the picketing is orderly.

Jersey Farmers Oppose Japanese

Because Edward Kowalick, youthful farmer of Great Meadows, N. J., hired five Japanese laborers supplied by the War Relocation Authority to work on his farm, some 500 residents of the Great Meadows area called a mass meeting to stop the "invasion." Though threats to march en masse on the Kowalick farm did not materialize, someone set fire to a shed on his property, causing $800 damage. Kowalick finally decided to ask the Japanese workers to leave in order to avoid further trouble.

The matter was not settled, however. A committee was appointed at the mass meeting to discover legal means of keeping out Japanese. And Warren County Assemblyman C. Leslie Hudson said he was considering legislation that would "discourage" the settlement of Japanese-Americans in New Jersey. Apparently Mr. Hudson and his constituents are acting out of fear that Japanese might become land owners and establish "disastrous competition" in the production of garden truck.

Strong Interests at Work for Conscription

The Committee to Oppose the Conscription of Women issues a warning that the battle is far from won, and points out that the Citizens Committee for a National Service Act is conducting a quiet but effective campaign to get all national women's groups to go on record in favor of conscription of women. It is reported that the American Association of University Women is asking for a vote in all its branches. The majority of members of the AAUW Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women has approved conscription of women for military service.

The strategy of those who want to establish total conscription is clearly that of dividing the opposition by passing one part of the program at a time. By concentrating on conscription of *women* first, they hope to avoid opposition from labor; and by limiting present conscription to military purposes only, they hope to escape those who object to forcing people to work for private employers. Such strategy is likely to succeed unless there is much stronger opposition in the near future than has been expressed so far.

Tornado Destroys Arkansas CPS Camp

Sixty men were injured, ten of them seriously, when CPS Camp No. 7, at Magnolia, Arkansas, was struck by a tornado on April 10. The campers had just finished their evening meal and had returned to their cabins when the storm struck. Strangely enough, the dining hall was untouched but every one of the 8 cabins was completely demolished. Several Soil Conservation Service buildings were also wrecked. Doctors said several lives would have been lost had it not been for expert and immediate first aid treatment rendered by CPS men. The camp will be closed as soon as possible and all men transferred to other camps.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Roger Axford, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1837 N. Berendo Street, Los Angeles 27, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 440 East 13th Avenue, Denver 3, Colo.; *Rural:* Warren Nelson, Pairie du Sac, Wis.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Negro Preacher Jailed

(*Continued from Page* 92)

ing about keeping your own self out of the fire.

R.—I'm trying to keep my soul out of the fire.

* * *

Mooney's Argument to the Jury

If your honor please, gentlemen of jury. There has been a lot of reference to Christianity and the Bible in this case. I confess (not boastfully you understand) that perhaps I am not as good a Christian as I ought to be. You take this stuff like "turning the other cheek" and "loving your enemies" and "doing good to them that hate you." That's all very well. It's very fine. But I believe in using common sense in religion.

You know what would happen if we tried to take that stuff seriously now. We've got a *war* on, gentlemen! What would happen if everybody tried to put this into practice? Who would fight this war?

Personally I can't see any conflict between Christianity and Americanism. Chaplains from the Baptist, Methodist, Catholic and Hebrew churches are ministering to the suffering and dying boys on the battlefield. They wear the uniform of their country. If there was any conflict they wouldn't be taking part in this war as chaplains.

Gentlemen, we have smiled indulgently at some of the testimony in this trial but this is a serious matter. This is a case of interference with the Selective Service Act, the act on which the security of this nation rests. We cannot tolerate this sort of thing or it would wreck the defense of our country.

I am not enjoying this prosecution. It is a very regrettable thing. The tragedy of it is that we are really dealing with a group of Negro boys who are capable of rendering this country a great service on the battlefield. Think of it! Nine Negroes and every single one of them passed the blood test (Wassermann)! The thing that arouses my indignation is that they have been misled by their "Kingfish" over there who has got them into this mess. Black as they are, they have demonstrated throughout this trial a high degree of loyalty. But it has been loyalty to this fraudulent "Kingfish" who has misled them.

If you want to turn this man loose to spread this fallacious doctrine and get more colored boys into jail, all right. But if you want to serve notice that this sort of thing cannot continue, put this man behind bars where he won't be free to preach his subversive doctrine.

Harden's Argument to the Jury

Your honor, please. Gentlemen of the jury. Ah . . . the more we gets into this case the more I am convinced that there is something peculiar here. I am a member of the colored race. I love the colored race. I thought I understood the colored race. But let me say this: This is the first time I ever see a bunch of colored boys that were trying to get *into* jail instead of keep *out* of jail.

This boy we just heard testify said that the Lord would take care of him. You know, gentlemen, I wish that I could believe that like he does. Don't you sometimes wish you could, too? This boy says that if some man hit him on one cheek he would turn the other cheek. He believes that the Lord will protect him. You know, sometimes I think that I would like to try that, but every time I get scared the Lord will be too slow.

No, sir, this religion is just too hard for me. Elder Marshall wouldn't let me in the front door of his church. Don't drink, don't smoke, don't chew, don't cuss, don't . . . have one wife and two or three sweethearts. I wonder how many of you gentlemen could belong to that church?

Mr. Prosecutor was talking about religion being common sense. You know, I don't believe that he has ever been to a colored camp meeting. No sir, when a colored man gets religion there just isn't any common sense to it. Was that common-sense religion when they started talking in tongues on the day of Pentecost? Was it common sense for the Children of Israel to follow Moses out into the Wilderness?

You know Peter had a lot of common sense. When they came to get Christ to nail him to the cross he wanted to get out his sword and do some cutting. But Christ said to put up the sword; them that take the sword will perish by the sword.

Mr. Prosecutor been trying to make a Benedict Arnold out of this simple colored preacher. You heard this white man testify about his good character. Been preaching his religion for 30 years and never has given anybody any trouble. Long before this war started he planted the seeds of his religion in these boys' hearts. Now the war comes and the government says everybody got to fight. Do you think Elder Marshall should say he has been preaching a lie all this time and for them to go ahead and fight?

You know, this man was a heathen. His ancestors didn't have this religion when you brought them from the jungles of Africa. You white folks taught him your religion. You gave him your Bible to read. You told him about your Jesus. He believed in your Bible, he accepted your Jesus. You told him that it was a good religion, he believed it. Now are you going to say that this religion is wrong; that we are going to have to send you to jail because you believe it?

Gentlemen of the jury, I don't believe these boys want to be disloyal to their country, they just want to follow out their religion. The men who came over to this country in the Mayflower were trying to find a place to worship God as they pleased. They weren't disloyal but they didn't want nobody telling them how to worship God.

I tell you gentlemen, these boys will get a hearing. Turn 'em loose or not, they'll get a hearing wherever they may be. They've got something that you can't put down. Even if you sent them to the pen they'd get a hearing there. Men will listen to these boys. Why, gentlemen of the jury, I believe that if this trial continues much longer, I am going to get religion myself and there will be one lawyer get to heaven.

Get the Facts
about
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
and the war

You'll find them in brief and readable form in the materials listed below

The Conscientious Objector and the Law (Cornell)	1.75
Conscripts of Conscience (Testimony of 16 non-registrants)	.25
Character 'Bad' (Gray)	1.00
Conscience and the War (ACLU report on treatment of COs)	.10
Procedure for COs (New information manual)	.10
Jehovah's Witnesses and the War	.10
The CO under Selective Service	.05
They Asked for a Hard Job (COs in mental hospitals)	.05
Special Projects	.05
Prison Routine	.03
CO Dependency	.01
The Reporter (NSBRO bi-monthly newspaper)	1.00
Scenes from the Work of the NCCO	Free
Official Statements of Religious Bodies Regarding the CO	Free

•

Literature Department
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 B'way., New York 25, N. Y.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

More About CPS - FOR

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Evan Thomas' article "CPS and the Second Mile" hit the nail on the head as many times as Paul Comly French pounded around it in his article. Certainly CPS has its good points, as does our Federal Penal System, our capitalistic system, etc. The point of vital concern is: how good is the over-all pattern, the system as a whole?

Let's face the facts. CPS is nothing less than a penal colony, a system of slavery in which men are forced to work without compensation or even maintenance. It is a vile abrogation of democratic processes. Why dress it up with pretty words and phrases? Why treat it as being something else?

Any church and any other group that contributes to its support is contributing to the support of a system of enslavement. Any group aiding in the administration is helping to administer a system of slavery.

JOHN E. BATES
CPS, Spring City, Pa.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have read with interest the statement of Evan Thomas in which he sets forth reasons for refusing to cooperate with government agencies even so far as to refuse to register.

His argument may hold for one who has the courage, the mental equipment, and the expert knowledge to stand alone defying the government, and yet is able to continue to serve humanity with his own hands. But some of us lack the mentality or the knowledge to be of great service to humanity if we stand alone in such defiance. CPS has shown us a path into the attendants' quarters of mental hospitals, where groups of men who refuse to cooperate in programs of killing mankind, can nonetheless constructively serve humanity in unexpected ways because they carry with them a group pressure for good. Some of these have not only served suffering humanity with their own hands, but by bringing about reforms in several hospitals, have guided those who do not sympathize with them into paths of helpful kindness instead of brutal overawing of men and women mentally ill.

I cannot agree that a man or woman who serves suffering humanity in a mental hospital, and who is pointing the way for others to follow the same methods, is to be regarded as serving humanity less than the man who refuses to yield any cooperation with men he regards as misguided and who thereby buries himself in prison. Is he sure that in prison he is not nursing the wounds of a frustrated pride rather than helping to cure the illnesses of men and women in a sick and suffering world?

EDWARD THOMAS

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The decision of the FOR National Council to continue in the NSBRO saddened me, and above all, seemed a questionable use of democratic procedure. The FOR made special efforts to submit the question to membership decision through both discussion and vote. I must confess that I often felt the discussions toned down the crucial issue of pacifist administration and financing of conscription under military control. Months of discussion passed, and a detailed leaflet was circulated seeking a more adequate response. It contained six complex and varyingly ambiguous recommendations, in themselves an obstacle to "democratic procedure." From a total membership of 14,500—383 individual responses were received, of which 203 were for remaining. Assuming this was the basis for the Council's decision, it means that .025 of the membership voted and only .012 of the membership swung the decision.

On the other hand, of 406 "group expressions," 292 were for *withrawal,* a clear majority of 178. Even the men living under the CPS slave system, 87 voting, were 63 for *withdrawal,* or a majority of 39. Although the Council "sensed-the-meeting" for "remaining" in, an individual vote of 24 representatives, 17, or a majority of 10 preferred *withdrawal.*

My analysis is based on the assumption that a democratic vote means a vote of *individual* members. A "group expression" cannot be considered unless it incorporates both the number of individuals voting and a verification of their FOR membership to exclude duplicate votes and non-member expression. Even if counted "group expressions" were overwhelmingly for "withdrawal."

The 14,117 non-voting members cannot be taken into account if "democratic vote" has any meaning. In normal voting practice a "no-vote" implies a willingness to abide by the majority decision, although "inertia" is probably a better deduction in this case.

In spite of their own viewpoints, mass indifference, in spite of the majority of individuals and groups voting withdrawal, the Council voted to remain. Although there was "no clear mandate" for withdrawal, there was an even foggier mandate to stay in the NSBRO. Apparently to justify this, the Council appeals to the myth of "sense of the meeting," a concept contradictory to "democratic vote." Why take a membership vote if a "sense of the meeting" is decisive?

The Council statement hopes that despite "sharp divergence of viewpoint" that the "strong bond" will not be broken. I have many personal ties with the FOR but the Council's action is to me such a violation of both pacifist and democratic principle that at this point I must resign.

At such time as the FOR once more acts clearly and forthrightly on the basis of its statement of purpose and rejects the administration and financing of slave labor, I will gladly rejoin.

A CO IN PRISON

[*What this correspondent does is to equate democracy with majority rule, in itself questionable. There are sufficient weaknesses in the business of deciding a complicated issue by counting noses and sufficient basic spiritual validity in the Quaker "sense of the meeting" approach to indicate that in matters of Fellowship policy the latter ought to be decisive. In the degree that we really are a Fellowship and not an organization in the conventional sense, that would seem to be inevitable. What this means is illustrated by the fact that 24 or 25 people, including the leading staff members of the FOR, with the most diversified points of view, and with two-thirds of them personally in favor of withdrawal, after hours of discussion could arrive unanimously at the decision that the Council did take and could continue to be thoroughly satisfied with it. Furthermore, the test of whether a "sense of the meeting" has been arrived at, is obviously whether the decision in question does actually call forth the support or at least acquiescence of the overwhelming majority of the membership. This decision seems to have had that result.*

There are individuals who will feel that to remain in the Fellowship under these circumstances, even though they have complete freedom to continue trying to persuade the rest of the membership to take the same position as they do, violates their consciences. Of course such persons must regretfully withdraw. We have no recourse except regretfully to accept the resignation. We need hardly say that it does not change our respect or affection for them.—The Editors.]

The Work of the FOR

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Among the men returning from the war there will exist a very positive opposition to war. This, time will largely wipe out unless there is an aggressive, constructive plan ready for presentation to them. There is no organization in the field that can meet the demand of these men except the FOR. Everything else will have a program with "force and violence" as its final arm. The men will have had enough of it and will be ready for something else.

This was brought forcibly to me this morning. Following the morning worship I was given responsibility for the Communion service. I took it out of the beaten path at once. The people were deeply moved. Service men home who were present came to me with grateful expressions. One navy youth, home from the South Seas, told me frankly how he felt. He is ripe for the FOR now and so is his mother who "stood in" on our conversation.

Plans for this should be set up at once and our FOR people given some training to approach these men as they are home from time to time or who are discharged, who may be found browsing about the churches hoping to make a discovery of helpful sort. The churches will not have anything of the sort to offer. Their program will be for better church equipment, more ornate services, places where the men who will, may again tread in the old mill.

A great white field is opening before us. Get the machinery ready or we will see

again the returning men later drift into a movement that will make the American Legion look like an antiquated testimony meeting. R. D. SNYDER

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The recent *Fellowship* that has been causing some surprising repercussions hit a high note with Vera Brittain's and Hassler's articles. If we all can take it from there, and press home this and like points, we will at least be justifying our partnership with you.

Dr. Sayre was with us last Monday night. He gave us a sound and clear picture of what and what not to expect after the cessation of armed hostilities. He has a fine mind and left us with no gaps to fill in.

My furlough was delayed. It won't be due until April. The nearness of our overseas movement is real this time. Next week we go out on a week's bivouac, followed by furloughs, and then—the voyage.

I'm not particularly looking forward to going overseas. True, it will bring with it invaluable experiences that I could not possibly duplicate elsewhere. But I imagine our hospital will be one of the many serving the casualties evacuated direct from the invasion coast. It's tough enough to see what's here at —— Hospital, and to read what is happening inside Europe. It will seem so futile to attempt to patch up the "savers" of civilization in the state that most of them will be in then. But I will do my best to take advantage of such tragedy, and attempt to maintain the spirit of our goals through it all.

Recently we were privileged in having the Christian Mission here. Dr. K, Dr. J, and Dr. S were the leaders. They all were good, but weak and vacillating on the question of war. Funny thing how they could denounce drinking, religious apathy, gambling, and even swearing, and almost in the same breath give a tacit approval to the greatest of man's evils—war. How in the world can Christian men continue in the face of what is happening to sanction this unholy violence? I may be wrong, but every minister I come in contact with I ask this question. I know now what the word evasive means! "God is not mocked . . ."

Keep me in your prayers. Our Fellowship is worth more than our lives. And it is the only hope of the world. God keep us individually strong and courageous.

1AO

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

When I first joined the FOR, I did so largely because it was another peace organization, and I knew that it was doing a good work in this field. It was not until I got into CPS that I really realized just what the FOR was doing, and the excellent thinking that is going on within the organization. I do feel that the most sound thinking in the country concerning the present state of affairs in the world, the immediate future, and the ultimate future, is to be found in the pages of *Fellowship* and other FOR publications. The work that you people are doing has been a great help to me, and I want to express my sincere thanks for this help, and for the truly good work that you are undertaking.

CHARLES H. MARTIN
CPS, Ames, Iowa

Pacifism and Free Speech

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Dr. Holmes' query in the April *Fellowship* as to "how many have ever thought their pacifism through" is one that most of us should take to heart, including Dr. Holmes. The matter of using police protection for meetings in his church is something for him and the trustees of his church to decide. Dr. Holmes' decision may have been wise, but when this is made the basis for an article questioning the intelligence and even the sincerity of some who call themselves conscientious objectors, the request to think things through must be turned squarely back to its author.

What is Dr. Holmes' position with respect to the use of force and the police? Does he mean to imply that he would never use force or that he thinks a police force is comparable to the institution of war? Law and order depend primarily on the good will and wishes of the people but does Dr. Holmes wish to establish the principle that anti-social individuals or minorities should be given their own way because of the threat of violence? Is that what pacifism means to him? If so he is far more an anarchist than the COs who refuse to cooperate with laws which they regard as totalitarian and inimical to society.

As one who has respect for Dr. Holmes as a man I find myself repeatedly confused and at sea as to how he reaches his conclusions about the proper attitude for COs to take in this country. He is an ardent admirer of Gandhi yet he is distressed by the non-cooperative technique of Gandhi when American COs attempt to use it. He is not a Tolstoyan non-resistant or he would not be so shocked by what he calls anarchy. Just where has his thinking brought him and why does he stop thinking at the particular points he does?

EVAN W. THOMAS

MAKE THIS SUMMER COUNT!

Members of the FOR will be interested in the following

OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY, FELLOWSHIP, AND SERVICE

African M. E. Zion

Work camp for high school students
Address: Mrs. Daisy C. Tucker
Furnace Woods Rd., House I, Peekskill, N.Y.

American Friends Service Committee

4 Work Camps in the Middle West—June 23-Aug. 18.
College Credit Seminar following work camps.
2 International Service Seminars—June 29-Aug. 18.
Service Seminar for Women—June 28-Aug. 16.
Student-in-Industry Group—June 16-Sept. 2.
2 Social Service Groups for Women—June 23-Aug. 18.
Peace Caravans in four states.
3 Mexican Service Seminars—Summer or year round.
13 Institutes of International Relations.
6 West Coast Projects.
Special Projects for High School Students.
Address: American Friends Service Comm., Summer Projects, 20 S. 12th St., Phila., Pa.

American Youth Hostels

Leaders' Training Course, Northfield, June 18-24.
Apprenticeships in Hosteling, Northfield, July-Aug.
8 Sponsored Trips in Canada, U. S., and Mexico.
Address: American Youth Hostels, Northfield, Mass.

Baptist Youth Fellowship

5 Summer Service Projects, coast to coast.
Address: Baptist Youth Fellowship Summer Service Committee,
152 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Church of the Brethren

2 Work Camps in Kentucky.
Address: Neva Hollinger, Trotwood, Ohio.
2 Work Camps in Pennsylvania.
Address: Ruth M. Wolfe, Manchester, Md.

College Summer Service Group

Service and study in various social agencies in New York City, June 29-Aug. 16.
Address: Laurence T. Hosie, Director,
600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

Congregational Christian Churches

Dayton (Ohio) Work Camp, in industrial area.
Address: Miss Priscilla Chase,
1006 Hippodrome Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Summer Student Service, in Southeastern states.
Address: Dr. Thomas A. Tripp, Secretary,
287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Fellowship Farm Children's Camp

Boys and girls 12 to 14 (interracial) from pacifist homes. Oregon, Wisc., Aug. 6-19.
Address: Fellowship Farm, Oregon, Wisc.

FOR Interracial Work Camps

Nashville, Tenn. Month of July.
Clinton, Miss. Month of August.
Both for persons above high school age.
Address: Constance Rumbough,
1804 Grand Ave., Nashville, Tenn.
West Coast Work Camps.
Address: Glenn Smiley, 1837 N. Berendo, Los Angeles 27, Calif.

Home Missions Council of N. Amer.

14 Migrant Labor Camps in 3 areas.
Western Area, Address: Mrs. F. E. Shotwell, 3330 W. Adams Blvd., Los Ang. 16, Calif.
Midwest Area, Address: Miss Helen White, 203 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 1, Ill.
Eastern Area, Address: Miss Edith Lowry, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Lisle Fellowship

2 Practical Laboratories for college and graduate students.
Lisle, N. Y. June 7 to July 19.
Lookout Mountain, Colo. July 21 to Sept. 1.
Address: DeWitt C. Baldwin, Room 508, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

Methodist Youth Fellowship

6 Work Camps and summer projects.
Address: Board of Missions and Church Extension,
150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

Presbyterian, U.S.A., Youth Dept.

8 Youth Caravans to local churches.
5 Work Conferences in varying situations.
Address: Presbyterian, U.S.A., Youth Dep't., 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

School of Living

3 consecutive but independent courses:
Homesteaders' Course, July 7-22.
Adult Educators' Course, Aug. 5-19.
Advance Decentralists' Course, Sept. 2-16.
Address: Ralph Templin, Director, School of Living, Suffern, N. Y.

Spanish Community Church

Non-denominational community service project in East Harlem, New York, for 8 to 10 self-sustaining young people.
Address: 52 E. 102nd St., New York, N. Y.

Willowemoc

Interracial children's camp for boys 4 to 12 and girls 4 to 14. June 30-Sept. 1.
Under direction of Dr. Thomas W. Patrick, prominent Harlem pediatrician.
Address: Camp Willowemoc, Box 59, Station J, New York, N. Y.

The Strange and Illuminating Story of the Pacifist, the Guardian Angel, and the Wachahusett Chowder and Debating Society

THE Wachahusett Chowder and Debating Society has one Pacifist member, which is about Par for most Chowder Societies, Churches and Neighborhoods.

Now it must be confessed that this particular Pacifist attended the meetings of the WC&DS more because of the Chowder than the Debates. He was inclined to be a Quiet, Retiring Pacifist, who spoke only when he was spoken to, and never, never took part in a controversy.

On this particular evening the Pacifist sat there, comfortably sipping chowder and listening to the debates, which were informal, with anyone who wished taking part. Debates were popping up thick and fast that night, and a member could hardly swallow a mouthful of chowder in time to comment on the Single Tax before the subject had switched to the relative merits of Dewey and Bricker. The Pacifist sat listening tolerantly. Then, suddenly, he stirred uneasily.

"Japanese-Americans!" a Flat-White Member was saying angrily. "They're fifth columnists! Every single one of them!"

"Hey!" said the Pacifist, startled. "That's not so. You have no proof of that."

"No?" challenged the Flat-White Member angrily. "My wife's dressmaker has an uncle out there in California, and he says there were all sorts of fifth-column plots. What proof have *you?*"

"Well ——" said the Pacifist.

"That's what I thought," retorted the other. "I say let's deport all of them.

"Psst" said a voice in the Pacifist's ear. "Read this!"

The Pacifist glanced down to find a pamphlet in his hands, and proceeded to read in a firm voice the testimony of high officials that there had been *no* fifth-columnism in California, and when he finished the Flat-White Member said: "Oh," and sat down.

Under cover of the applause the Pacifist looked for his rescuer.

"You can't see me," hissed the voice suddenly in his ear. "I'm invisible. I'm your Guardian Angel. And boy, do you need one! How come you didn't know those facts? Didn't you ever read *Outcasts?*"

The Pacifist looked sheepish. "I meant to," he admitted, "but I never got around to it."

"Fine stuff!" sniffed the Guardian Angel. "Order a copy tomorrow, hear? It's only fifteen cents."

"Yes, sir," said the Pacifist meekly, and with another sniff the Voice was gone.

Well, that was an evening! The members were in fine fettle, and seemed anxious to debate everything under the sun. Bowls of chowder lay neglected and cold, as forensic muscles were flexed. And the Pacifist went from Crisis to Crisis.

There was the Negro Crisis, for instance.

"This brotherhood idea's all well and good," declared a Bulky Aryan member, "but every man knows that Negroes aren't as smart as whites."

"Hey," said the Pacifist again, "wait. That's not true, either."

"Prove it!" challenged the bulky one.

"Er ——," said the Pacifist.

The Bulky Aryan snorted. "I know a man who had a colored chauffeur," he announced," and was he dumb! All Negroes are."

"Psst!" said the voice. "Here."

And the Pacifist read firmly from *The Races of Mankind* (10¢), *Interracial Primer* (15¢), and *Race—What the Scientists Say* (5¢), until the Bulky One sat down with a thoughtful look on his face.

There was the India Crisis, too.

"Why should Britain free India?" demanded the Member with the Monocle. "The Indians are hopelessly divided and would only fight each other if they *were* free."

"Now, look," urged the Pacifist. "That's not quite right, is it?"

The Member with the Monocle bristled. "Do you question my facts, sir?" he inquired. "Do you have any evidence, sir?"

"Uh ——" said the Pacifist, and waited hopefully. And sure enough, there in his hand appeared marked copies of *Exit Empire* (25¢) and *Basic Facts About India* (25¢) from which he quoted with such telling effect that the Member dropped his Monocle in his chowder.

But it was in the matter of the Post-War Peace that the Pacifist and his Guardian Angel really Went To Town. That debate raged for an hour and a half by the old town clock, and as fast as he needed them the Pacifist found in his hands marked copies of books and pamphlets that left the opposition helplessly silent. He quoted from *Pattern for Peacemakers* (25¢), *The Next Peace* (25¢), and *War Is the Enemy* (25¢). He read from *Shall We Rule Germany?* (10¢) and *Conscription, Test of the Peace* (10¢).

And when at last the meeting ended, the Wachahusett Chowder and Debating Society had approved unanimously a resolution calling for race equality, freedom for colonies, and an immediate statement of generous and democratic peace aims.

On the way home, the Pacifist thought to thank his Guardian Angel.

"We really laid 'em low tonight, didn't we?" he ventured.

"We!" echoed the Guardian Angel querulously. "What did you have to do with it?"

"Well ——" said the Pacifist.

"Now, listen, friend," said the Guardian Angel, firmly. "I helped you out tonight, but I can't do that very often. If you want to be worth your salt as a Pacifist, you'll have to help yourself."

"Yes, sir," said the Pacifist.

"You should have had every one of those pamphlets in your library," insisted the Guardian Angel, "and a whole lot more besides. You have to bear witness to your faith, and you can't bear witness when you don't know what you're talking about."

"No, sir," said the Pacifist. "And where can I get these things, sir?"

"The last straw!" groaned the Guardian Angel. "You don't even read the back cover of *Fellowship* every month! You can order any of those pamphlets, and a lot more besides, from the FOR Literature Department, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y. Better send for their complete Literature List while you're at it. Will you do that?"

"Yes, sir," said the Pacifist.